background information

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Department on Church and Society
DIVISION OF STUDIES - WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
17 route de Malagnou - Geneva - Switzerland

Notes on this issue of Background Information

The situation in Poland following the uprising in October 1956 has aroused much speculation about the future of Communism, particularly in Eastern Europe. The statement published here is by a correspondent who has frequently visited Poland in recent years and who writes from first-hand knowledge of the people and the country.

The independence of Ghana will go down in history as one of the significant events of the 20th century. On Wednesday, March 6, 1957, the First Parliament of Ghana met to receive two addresses. One was delivered by the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, in reply to the speech from the throne, and moving its acceptance. The other was by Prof. K.A. Busia, the leader of the Opposition Party, seconding the motion. Dr. Nkrumah, a baptised Roman Catholic, studied theology at a Presbyterian theological seminary in the United States. Prof. Busia is a member of the Working Committee of the World Council's Department on Church and Society, and a very active Methodist layman. We rejoice that in this newly independent nation of West Africa, Christians are taking an active part in the task of nation building. It gives us special pleasure to note that in this young nation we find already in existence an organized party of responsible opposition to the party in power, which is one of the marks of healthy democracy.

The statement on "Parliamentary Democracy in South East Asia" by Prof. A.M. Tambunan is part of an address delivered at the Ecumenical Study Conference on the Problems of Rapid Social Change in the Countries of South East Asia. This conference was held at Siantar, Sumatra, Indonesia, March 12-16, 1957. Prof. Tambunan who has been vice-president in post-war Indonesian governments was chairman of the conference, held under the auspices of the National Council of Churches of Indonesia and the Department on Church and Society of the World Council. (A complete report on this meeting can be obtained from the Department on Church and Society.)

Mr. Denys Munby, lecturer in economics at the University of Aberdeen contributes the review article on the recent book by Mr. Gunnar Myrdal, "An International Economy", (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956).

We are also pleased to include a paper by Prof. H.D. Wendland of the theological faculty of the University of Munster, Germany. In this paper Prof. Wendland develops the relation between the missionary and evangelistic task of the Church and its life and work in society.

POLAND AFTER THE "OCTOBER REVOLUTION"

(from a correspondent)

Eight months have already passed since the dramatic events which took place in Warsaw in October 1956 and which so strongly altered the political situation of the country. During this time, the revolutionary tension and the human passions have calmed down and it is possible today to evaluate the present political, social and economic situation better perhaps than a few months ago. Also, the international situation, and particularly the political attitude of the Soviet Union towards Poland, is more predictable than it was before.

There is much public discussion in Poland concerning the new principles and methods for the political and economic management of the country. The discussion is very interesting for all students of public affairs because it offers an insight into the difficulties existing in Poland and into the ways and means being suggested for surmounting them. However, such discussion may be misleading for an uninformed observer because it deals with the improvement of the present situation in detail, without an open and clear statement concerning the heart of the problems. This brief report will not be concerned with the details of the recently introduced political and economic changes and those envisaged in the immediate future, but an attempt to explain the important factors which lie at the very basis of developments in Poland.

It must be emphasized in the first place that the driving force of all recent events in Poland was neither the Government nor the Party, nor even a group of politicians or intellectuals. It was a spontaneous popular movement which manifested itself in an open revolt in Poznan in June 1956 but which existed in all parts of the country and in all classes of society. It is worth noting also that the degree of the popular discontent came as a great surprise to the Polish Communist leaders. It frightened them and it shook the social conscience of many of them. It was a moment when the idealistically-minded members of the Communist Party realized the precipice which yawned between them and the rest of the Polish society. They also realized that small concessions would not appease society and that profound reforms were necessary.

What has been the essence of the popular discontent? To answer this question briefly one may affirm with all certainty that the reasons for the dissatisfaction were not only of a material character but also to a surprisingly large measure moral. It is characteristic of the Polish situation in 1956 that people expressed their protest first of all, with complaints against such abuses as suppression of individual liberties, intolerable propaganda, living everyday in fear of the secret police, the need to praise aloud political and economic measures which led to a deterioration of economic development, in order to work and support their families, the impossibility of protesting against philosophical, moral and political principles judged to be false, unfounded and harmful to society.

Protests against the appalling living conditions, housing, conditions of work, low real incomes, all very strong and very well substantiated, were usually given second place. People, consciously or unconsciously, protested not against strictly defined abuses, though such existed, but against the whole moral and political climate which was forced upon them and which was definitely abhorrent to them.

In the second place the Polish uprising may be viewed as a clash between two different civilisations and mentalities: on the one hand, the Christian, Western European civilisation, and on the other the materialistic, Asiatic or semi-Asiatic one. This clash becomes more visible and more understandable, if one can imagine a society belonging for centuries to the family of Western nations which suddenly is forced to live under a system where there is an almost complete lack of moral principle in political or public life. Poland, though on the outskirts of Western civilisation, is surprisingly strongly imbued with elements of western culture. This is particularly and clearly noticeable in the religious sphere. The overwhelming revival of religious life and the sincerity of religious faith, despite efforts on the part of the government to suppress it, is perhaps one of the best illustrations of the clash between the two civilisations. The Polish protest was a kind of self defense against moral disintegration.

The new clash between these two civilisations has sharpened and exaggerated the national feelings of Poles and stimulated the feeling of superiority of culture and civilisation over the Soviet Union. From this it has been only a small step to consider the Russians as political occupiers and as responsible for all the misfortunes of the country.

The Communist Party of Poland and the majority of its leaders are now regarded as a symbol of those elements of Eastern civilisation which are entirely unacceptable to the Polish people. This is an extremely important fact and one which seems to be evident in all classes of the population. The Communist philosophy, the Communist ideology, the Communist ways of running the national economy, and, generally speaking, the whole entity of Communist beliefs has become not only unacceptable but is profoundly detested by Polish society. The revolutionary events in Poland and the ensuring public discussions prove beyond any doubt that the philosophically closed system of Communism, such as was constructed by the Soviet leaders and given final expression by Stalin, has been shattered to pieces. Only a few elements of this philosophy are still acceptable; but the philosophy as a whole has lost all influence in Poland.

This complete ideological collapse of the system of "Communism" is particularly important among the young generation in Poland. It is most surprising what a disproportion exists between efforts on the part of the Party and the Government to indoctrinate young people in Poland with Communism and the results obtained. Today there is substantial proof that the great majority of the young generation is not only indifferent to these efforts, but show an open animosity, tainted with contempt, for the principles assumed in the past as the very basis of the Communist philosophy.

The new Communist leader, Mr. Gomulka, came to power in this general atmosphere of animosity and incredulity towards the Communist doctrine and towards the Communist Party. Mr. Gomulka seems very well aware of the state of mind of the vast majority of his compatriots. Being, however, an old-time Communist, severely persecuted by the former non-Communist political régimes, believing in some of the principles of the Communist order, and severely limited in his activities by the international political situation, he has decided to choose the so-called Polish way to socialism, which is nothing more than the way of rescuing some elements of Communism by making them palatable to the Polish taste. The essential element of Mr. Gomulka's programme is to throw overboard the doctrines of Communism, which are anyhow lost in

the country, and to replace them with an empirical approach to the existing political, economic and social problems. The introduction of socialism in Poland, according to Mr. Gomulka, must be carried out by methods and measures which are acceptable to, or will even be welcomed by the Polish population. This is indeed a revolutionary change in the governing of the country, and there are striking instances of the introduction of the new policy in Poland. There is a new agricultural policy which allowes the dissolution of collective farms and gives genuine economic and political support to individual farming carried out on a family basis. There is a new attitude towards the Catholic Church which takes into account the present state of mind and the overwhelming social support for this Church. The empirical method is also applied to numerous other problems. It also makes possible the discussion of individual elements of the Marxist-Leninist theory, in an objective way. The introduction of this empirical approach will sooner or later modify the political and economic situation in the country according to the wishes of the population, and will lead future development far away from the directions indicated originally by the Communist doctrine formulated in the Soviet Union.

The political situation of Mr. Gomulka seems at present well established. He has behind him the army, the police force, the upper strata of the Party and, the agricultural population which gives strong support to his new agricultural policy. The Catholic Church, or the hierarchy of the Catholic Church seems to be well aware of the present situation and does not create any difficulties. Mr. Gomulka's real enemies are the orthodox Communists, unable to understand the Polish population and frightened of losing their privileged position in society. They are particularly numerous in the Party and Government Administration in provincial towns and districts. They were recruited to perform the tasks fixed in the days of orthodox Communism and their mentality and behaviour has been shaped accordingly. It was relatively easy for Mr. Gomulka to select new people at the top of the Party ladder. It will be much more difficult and will take him a much longer time to do the same at the lowest rungs of the ladder. At present it is a very frequent phenomenon that the policies announced in Warsaw are not being applied in some provinces by provincial party secretaries which causes a real and ever increasing irritation in the population.

Mr. Gomulka also expects certain difficulties from the intellectuals who, by their independence of mind and courage in expressing their views, helped Mr. Gomulka considerably in his rise to political power, but who at present are unwilling to stop their fight for rapid changes in the political and economic situation in complete disregard for the consequences which such a quick change may bring, both inside and outside the country. Mr. Gomulka at present rejects the support of these intellectuals, fearing that any further concessions towards their demands may put him into the position of the Hungarian leader, Mr. Nagy.

The main problem for Mr. Gomulka, however, is the very difficult economic situation of the country. The change in political and economic management from authoritarian coercive methods to methods based on economic incentives is an endeavour extremely difficult even in a favourable economic and political atmosphere. In the Polish situation this endeavour is particularly hard to realize. The pattern of industrial production is very strongly biased towards output of investment goods and military equipment, with resulting shortages in the output of consumer goods. Agricultural production is insufficient to feed the rapidly growing population and yet a condition for im-

provement in economic activity must undoubtedly be a tangible rise in the standard of living, both in the urban and in the agricultural sectors of the economy.

Finally, the country is unable to buy more from abroad because of chronic difficulties in the balance of payments. Much will depend on the support which Mr. Gomulka will receive from the industrial workers who pronounced themselves in favour of him during October but who impatiently and desperatel look for a quick improvement in their real income. It is undoubtedly a "race with time" in which Mr. Gomulka is engaged today. The Polish economy is potentially stronger today than ever before, but the individual elements of that economy are out of gear and before the right balance can be found the economic results will continue to be unsatisfactory and could produce a number of dangers for the internal, and consequently for the external, stability of the country.

Mr. Gomulka's behavious is, of course, strongly influenced by the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the internal developments. The Soviet policy towards Mr. Gomulka and his "Polish way to socialism" is of course not all sweetness and light. The Soviet leaders are aware of the grave economic difficulties of the moment and the growing impatience and irritation of the Polish people. They are also aware that Mr. Gomulka is supported by the population and that the Party, (particularly the "orthodox" Communists) are not. This situation offers numerous possibilities for the use of pressure on Mr. Gomulka or for the undermining of his present position in Poland. Nowadays in Poland it is considered that the leaders of the Soviet Union, being realists, accept Mr. Gomulka and his closest collaborators as commanding the Polish Party and the Polish Government. It is considered highly improbable that there will be any military intervention by the Soviet Union similar to that which occurred in Hungary, and this is mainly due to the fact that such intervention would turn into full-scale war in Poland, and to the very uncertain situation existing in Eastern Germany. It seems also that the Soviet leaders do realize that the dramatic events in Hungary and in Poland are merely visible manifestations of social processes which are developing in all the other Eastern European countries. Open intervention on the part of the Soviet Union would certainly aggravate the Soviet position, not only in Eastern Europe but elsewhere, while an attitude of understanding towards events in Poland, having in mind the strong economic dependence of Poland on the Soviet Union, may bring some kind of mutually acceptable solution to the existing difficulties.

An also extremely important element in any further development in Eastern Europe is the political attitude of the western powers towards the problems under discussion. The western approach is at present ambiguous and does not help in solving the situation. It would further the peaceful development of the situation if the western powers would express clearly their point of view as to the permanent division of Europe into a western and an eastern part. In Eastern Europe it is not quite clear at the present time whether the West wishes to stick to the old idea of containment and the division of Europe according to the Yalta Agreement, or whether the Western attitude points towards a solution of the present unsatisfactory situation by demilitarization, the withdrawal of Soviet forces and eventually the introduction of some form of neutralism. Independence and internal development towards a higher degree of democratization and freedom are difficult to imagine as long as the Soviet troops are stationed in Eastern Germany and in all

other Eastern European countries. Also in this stage of political development, Western countries would probably act wisely if they differentiate their approach towards communist countries.

In the field of foreign relations a particularly interesting development worth attention and support is at present taking place between Poland and Czechoslovakia. These two countries have decided to increase their economic co-operation and make real efforts towards their economic integration.

While the big issues of international policies concerning Eastern Europe will await final solution, Western Europe can render great services towards the natural internal development in Poland, and perhaps in other Eastern European countries. These services should be directed first of all towards economic aid immediately if possible. It should aim at two different targets. First, it should be short-term help in consumer goods and in such raw materials as serve to increase total production. Secondly, long-term efforts should be directed in such a way as to make possible for Poland to increase foreign exchange with Western countries and to arrive at more balanced economic relations between eastern and western parts of Europe. Great help may also be rendered by stimulating all possible personal contacts between people in Poland and people in Western Europe. The exchange of scientists, technicians, students, is particularly important. Efforts should be made to encourage such travel.

II.

TWO ADDRESSES ON THE INDEPENDENCE OF GHANA

(delivered March 6, 1957, Accra)

by

I. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah - the Prime Minister
II. Prof. K.A. Busia - Leader of the Opposition

I. We are today a fully sovereign and independent State subservient to no other nation. This is in itself a great achievement and it is right that we think on those who made independence possible. It would be impossible to giv a long list of names of those who have materially assisted us in reaching our goal. Without the self-sacrificing work of many Members of this Parliament, we might not be having these celebrations today. In all parts of the country there are men and women who, by their devotion and sacrifice, have made this day possible. We should not forget also those who, though not citizens of Ghana or even resident here, have assisted us in our struggle for independenc I am glad that some of those who helped us in the days when our prospects seemed darkest are here with us today as guests of an independent Ghana.

The achievement of freedom, sovereignty and independence is the product of the matter and spirit of our people. In the last resort we have only been able to become independent because we were economically, socially and politically able to create the conditions which made independence possible and any other status impossible.

We part from the former Imperial Power, Great Britain with the warmest feelings of friendship and goodwill. This is because successive Governments in the United Kingdom recognised the realities of the situation in the Gold Coast and adopted their policy accordingly. Thus, instead of that feeling of bitterness which is often born of a colonial struggle, we enter on our independence in association with Great Britain and with good relations unimpaired. We are proud that we are the first colonial territory in Africa to gain its freedom and to enter into the Commonwealth. We value the Commonwealth link because it brings us closer to other nations who practise the same type of democracy and have the same system of laws which we have established here. Particularly we value it because it brings us into association with the newer Commonwealth countries of Asia whose problems are so akin to our own.

We have maintained the ceremonies which have marked the opening of this Parliament because they are common to the countries of the Commonwealth and because they emphasise a common approach to the problems of democracy.

We should be under no delusion about the difficulties of the task which we must undertake at independence. I am sure that we can surmount all obstacles. Within the lifetime of people now present in this House today our country has been changed out of all recognition.

Fifty years ago there were no harbours, scarcely any roads and life was as primitive as in almost any part of the world. Today we enter on our independence with all the machinery of a modern State.

By our own exertions, and almost entirely through finance deriving from the Gold Coast, we have built a fine system of communications, and new roads

and bridges have opened up the country. We already possess one excellent port and a great new harbour is under construction. Out of a population of under five million we have today over half a million children at school. We have developed social services and a sound system of finance. Many commercial firms from abroad are investing in our country and we are developing our own light industry. That all this could have been achieved under tropical conditions in so short a time is a tribute to the genius of our people.

Independence is, however, only a milestone on our march to progress. Independence by itself would be useless if it did not lead to great material and cultural advances by our people.

In pressing on with these advances we shall be doing more than merely benefiting Ghana. If we in Ghana can work out solutions to the problems which beset the tropics, we shall be making a contribution to Africa and to the world as a whole. By the knowledge and methods which we must develop, if we are ourselves to succeed, we shall aid very materially other territories and enable them the sooner to reach conditions under which they may become independent.

Nevertheless, our most important contribution to the movement for the independence of colonial people will be the force of our example. If we can make a success of our endeavours, it will be demonstrated to the world that a former African colonial territory is as able and capable of conducting its own affairs as any country in the world. This will be an event of tremendous significance.

If on the other hand we fail, if we show oursleves disunited, inefficient or corrupt, then we shall have gravely harmed all those millions in Africa who put their trust in us and looked to Ghana to prove that African people can build a State of their own based on democracy, tolerance and racial equality.

In striving to create a modern State dedicated to freedom and justice, we shall have many enemies to fight against. Our first task must therefore be to make certain that there is a strong and resolute public opinion which condemns, as anti-social, idleness and neglect; carelessness, which destroys valuable crops or machinery, and corruption which undermines the basis of a sound commercial life.

I regard this National Assembly as the most important single body for creating this climate of public opinion which will make possible our progress. If we are to have true democracy it must be based on a free and vigorous Parliament.

We have had parliamentary disputes over the form of our constitution. It would be quite extraordinary if on a matter so important to us all it had been possible to have obtained uniformity of opinion. But I consider that the way in which we have met together and in the end reached an agreed compromise solution shows that Ghana has achieved political maturity.

Nevertheless, a heavy responsibility rests upon every Member of this Parliament. By our actions the whole future of Africa must be affected. When I spoke in this House in regard to the Constitution, I began by quoting the words of a great English politician of the 18th century, Edmund Burke. He once said in another connection:

"We are on a conspicuous stage and the world marks our demeanor."

These words are very true of Ghana today. I believe that this House and this country will be worthy of the responsibility history has entrusted to us and that we will not disappoint those millions of people in other parts of the world to whom our success or failure will mean so much.

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II. The august and colourful ceremony we hold here today marks the end of one kind of association between our country and Britain, and the beginning of another.

It marks the end of our colonial status. Colonialism has fallen into disrepute, and is now almost a term of accusation and reproach. Yet as recently as the last century, the acquisition of colonies did not only feature prominently in the foreign policies of the major European powers, but was also stoutly defended on various grounds: the right of the fitter races to survive, the need for economic expansion, or the mission to carry the light of civilisation into the dark and backward areas of the world. No one today would seek to justify the slavery, exploitation, inhumanity and injustice that accompanied colonialism.

On this occasion, however, we can afford to look at the other side of the picture. We can, without shame or bitterness, and in fact with sincere gratitude acknowledge the benefits which our connection with Britain as an imperial power has brought us.

In the heyday of imperial Rome, one of her eminent poets in a prayer beseeching the gods to protect a friend of his then at sea, bemoaned the audacity of men in tempting the treacherous seas in their frail barks, and their rash impiety in angering the gods by daring to scale the very heavens with wings not given to men.

Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Kent, the representative of the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster, and many of our distinguished guests have been wafted to our shores on wings not given to men. On that hangs a tale not of impiety, but of man's long and heroic struggle for the mastery of nature to improve the conditions of human life.

Britain has conveyed to us the benefits of European science and technology and made us share amply in the gains of man's long and sustained struggle for the mastery of nature. The evidence of this is all around us in our roads, our public buildings, our homes, our aerodromes and ports, our hospitals, our factories, our schools and colleges.

We have also benefited from British administration and law to which we owe our concepts of nationhood, democracy and individual freedom; and European education introduced to us under British rule has made us heirs of the literature and accumulated wisdom of the ages preserved in books for succeeding generations; and the English language has not only enabled us to communicate with our fellow countrymen of different tongues and tribes, but has also prepared us for effective membership in the wider community of nations to which we now come as adults and no longer as wards.

Nevertheless, these benefits came to us on the basis of a relationship which could not but be an affront to us, resting as it did on assumptions we were bound to question, and on injustices we were bound, sooner or later, to seek to rectify. It happily accords with contemporary thought and feeling that such a relationship should end. We are indeed happy that its end does not mean the complete severance of our ties with Britain but the forging of stronger bonds in a new relationship.

We believe our joining the British Commonwealth as an independent State is of international significance, and we are glad to see the occasion marked by the presence here today of distinguished representatives of many nations. To all of them we extend a hearty welcome. We hope this will mark the beginning of new and enduring links of fellowship and cordial relations between our young nation and the nations they represent.

Our independence gives new dimensions to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and points to new possibilities of international relations for world peace and co-existence. The evolution of subordinate colonial territories to independent nations, in partnership, on the basis of equality, with the former imperial power is a noteworthy political phenomenon.

Henceforth, our links with Britain will rest solely on our freely chosen loyalty to those British institutions, ideas, and ways of life we have adopted and on our freely-given devotion to Her Majesty the Queen who becomes our own Sovereign.

We may be permitted to observe that our admission to membership within the Commonwealth drives another nail into the coffin of the crude biological theories of racial superiority by which many have striven to justify the domination of one race by another. We become members of the international fraternity of the British Commonwealth on the basis of our common humanity.

We are aware that we owe this achievement to the people of Britain and other foreign countries, as well as to our own countrymen. We owe it to many from Britain and other foreign countries who, over the years, as civil servants, servicemen, missionaries, teachers, traders and businessmen served and taught us; as well as to many of our own countrymen, political leaders, chiefs, farmers, workers, and citizens in all walks of life who by what they learnt, and what they did helped to lay our foundations, and gave evidence of our fitness to govern ourselves. It is by the devoted day-to-day service of many ordinary and unnoticed citizens that a nation achieves greatness; and while today we pay tribute to those, living and dead, who were privileged to serve in the limelight of publicity, we would remember with special gratitude the many ordinary men and women, whose lot was cast in less conspicuous places, but to whom we owe much that is solid and of enduring value.

We would not be realistic if we were not on this occasion deeply and humbly conscious of the heavier responsibilities that must now devolve on us. Our own countrymen will expect better and higher standards of living; on us will be focussed the hopes of many communities in our vast continent and elsewhere who justly aspire after political emancipation; and on us too will be centred the expectations of many well-wishers throughout the world for some notable contribution from us to mankind's common and ever-increasing heritage built up in the effort to improve and enrich our human life or to gain wisdom and understanding for peaceful co-existence in an international community.

These are high expectations, but we cannot escape them. It is our prayer tha all of us in this country, whatever our work or station in life, may rise to the requisite discipline, integrity and service without which these expectations will never be fulfilled.

It is our hope that we may make some contribution by cherishing and fostering the best in our tradition and past experience, and by honouring our constitution and endeavouring to build here a democracy in which all will be truly free, and in which the resources of the nation will be harnessed in the wisest and most economical ways we know, with the aid of the latest inventions of science and technology we can procure, and directed towards enabling every citizen to be and to give the best of which he or she is capable...

Finally, we pray that the birth of our Country as an independent Nation within the British Commonwealth may mean for us also a mental and spiritual rebirth, and a fresh dedication of our talents to the honest and devoted service of our country and generation.

III.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

by Prof. A.M. Tambunan

Parliamentary democracy is a new institution in Asiatic countries. We can say roughly that it became known to the countries of Asia after the first World War. Parliament was first an advisory board for the colonising Western countries. Later on it was given a more legislative task. Some of the members were appointed and the rest elected in indirect rather than direct elections by the people. The chairman was always a white man, now and then the substitute or vice chairman were natives. There was no question of political responsibility of the governor and he could not lose his position for having his bill rejected. The parliament could not "drop" him.

After the second World War the situation altered. The colonies became free, and were accepted as members of the United Nations. Republics arose. elections were held, and parliamentary democracies were born.

What strikes us is that these new Asian countries profit by and reap the fruits of ages of struggle and history of the Western countries. They have attained suffrage, both for men and women, which in the Western countries was a result of a struggle of ages; an eight hour working-day (in Indonesia even seven hours a day), the right to have meetings, the right of free speech and of free opinion.

The East is undergoing a tremendous influence from the West in the field of politics, economics, social affairs and culture.

The Eastern countries take over some institutions from the West, like parliamentary structure and party-system. But often they do not know what to do with such institutions. If they do not have a parliament and do not hold general elections they are considered backward countries. They have trouble with this parliamentary system, but they still use it. We may note some of the advantages and disadvantages of parliamentary procedure as seen in South East Asia.

The advantage of parliamentary democracy is that discussions are open so that public opinion, directly or by way of the press, can follow the debates on public affairs. In a way, parliament is an educational institute to help the people to become conscious of their task as citizens of a free and independent country. The concern for public affairs has indeed increased, even if it is said that Asian countries only "grapple" with politics. However, parliamentary democracy has a big disadvantage. It is a slow way to take a decision and may lead to debates which last for hours without any tangible result. It is quite properly said that democracy is expensive and by this is meant the delays of parliamentary action. On the whole decisions follow the facts; reality is much quicker than parliament itself.

A second grave problem is that in fact <u>the party rules via the parliament</u>. The political party becomes an extension of the government. He is a strong minister who dares to oppose the decision of the party-council. Usually he accepts the decision. And sometimes the decision turns out to be wrong.

Parliamentary opposition is sometimes very irresponsible. There is often opposition for opposition's sake and not for the purpose in question. In addi-

tion there are ministers in the government who are appointed by their party whether capable or not. This is why the president of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Sukarno, called parliamentary democracy an "imported democracy", quite unsuitable for Indonesia and which has to be replaced by another concept of democracy, a "gotong-rojong" democracy or a teamwork democracy and a teamwork cabinet.

Parliamentary democracy in Asian countries, and especially in Indonesia, seems not yet to be the institution which can meet the need to realize rapid social and economic developments. It can only function well and realize rapid social and economic development, when it makes more use of one of the fundamental rights of a parliament, that is to say the right of initiative. Parliament must make more use of this right of initiative in the social and economic field, and not wait for the proposals of the government, which are often changed and whose bureaucracy works very slowly. The right of initiative, however, supposes the existence of experts in the parliament, and this implies again, that the parties do not send just any man to parliament, givin him a very high place on the candidates list so that he must be elected.

Relations of Church and State

Asian countries have never known the struggle for the separation of State and Church. In fact, every state has made its own history. Under the influence of the Renaissance and of its political writers and philosophers, the Western States developed in the direction of tolerance, freedom of religion, secular State, separation of Church and State, and now it developes in a democratic direction. The former colonised and new free and independent States of Asia did not share in this development. Asian States, like India, Burma, Ceylon, the Philippines and Indonesia immediately accepted a democratic form of Government. Pakistan could be called a theocratic State with a parliament.

Concerning India, Alima Taru, in his book "The Secular State in India, a Christian point of view" says: "Although the term "secular" is nowhere used in the Constitution of India, yet it is the intention of the writer of the constitution to found a democratic secular State". He bases his opinion on chapter III paragraph 25, and concludes that the secular State is good for India.

Every democratic State, indeed, takes the view of tolerance and neutrality with regard to religion, so too in Indonesia.

In Indonesia however, we have two opposit views with regard to the foundation of the State. The Moslem parties desire an Islam-State, while the nationalistic, the communistic and the Christian (both Protestant and Catholic) parties wish to maintain the present day pantjasila basis. The Indonesian constituent assembly must now decide. It may be said that the possibility of changing the base of the Indonesian State, happily is not great. This is very important, for a forced alteration could produce great unrest in Indonesia.

Participation of Christians in Political Life

In the second half of January of this year I sent fourteen questions to Christian students at several universities in Indonesia. From the answers which have come in, I find that the general opinion is that Christians necessarily must take part in political life. Four of the questions I sent run as follows:

1. Did you take part in the General Elections just held for Parliament, as well as for the Constituent Assembly? What were the considerations which made you take part, or which guided you not to take part?

2. According to your opinion does a Christian have to take part in the general elections? Must he remain neutral or must he take an active part?

3. Is it necessary for a Christian to become a member of a Political Party? If so, on what grounds, if not, for what reasons?

4. What is your opinion about the existence of a Christian Political Party? Is a separate party necessary or is it better to enter other parties which are in harmony with our convictions as Christians?

What strikes me is the answer to question 4. One student answers that an eventual liquidation of the Christian party can be thought of, if it has finished its task; it has to exist for the time being to prevent Indonesia becoming an Islam-State. To this person the existence of a Christian party is not a matter of principle. The answers to questions 1 and 2 are in general that a Christian too is responsible for his country and people and that he wishes to have a representative in both parliament and constituent assembly.

To questions 3 and 4 the answers are positive. Contrary to my expectation, when I see the indifference of many Christians on public matters, everyone answers, without exception, that it is necessary to take part in one or another political party and also it is necessary to establish our own Christian party. An exception is the above where it is said that if the task of the Christian party is already finished, namely to prevent the foundation of an Islam State, Christians could join a suitable political party which already exists. About the answers concerning the political party "Parkindo" I shall be brief, for it is more an internal question. One is of the opinion that the organisation is not yet satisfactory that the Parkindo does not give a clear political line, that propaganda is bad and that it does not get in touch with the younger people. We may agree that the Parkindo represents insufficiently the voice of the Christians in Indonesia.

Concerning the Church and politics the answers are more varied. Some hold the view that the Church has to give her opinion about political and State questions. Others say that Church and State each have its own field, and its own message to bring. There are still others who say that the Church should only speak if her opinion is required and a fourth thinks that the Church has to speak in matters of principle about Church and State, not about practical political problems of every day life.

With regard to the question of being at the same time pastor in a parish and chairman of a political party the answers differ too. Most of them are against it. Others say that it depends on the division of tasks. If the position of the person is not strongly influenced by the work of being chairman it is allowed. Again others warn that Church members belong to several parties and that if the pastor cannot be neutral tensions will arise between the members of the parish.

In general it is considered desirable that the youth too should go in for politics, that is to say, start to think about it. Often Christian youth

are very indifferent, distinct from the Moslem and communist youth, who reall form a sub-structure of their respective political parties. There is a warning of the danger of this indifferentness, for otherwise nobody will be read to take over from older Christians.

This is the result of my investigation. My view is that the present-day youth, as represented in the student world, must really take the responsibility as Christians for State and people. Perhaps there is something like "fear" behind that statement, but still I feel that they must really see them selves as citizens and nationalists with a sense of responsibility on behalf of land and people.

Government Industrialism and the New Social Situation

We in Indonesia, like the other new States of South East Asia, are indeed experiencing exciting days. We now live in the age of so-called industrialism. The masterly sketch from Professor Banning, in his book "Modern Social Problems" concerning this so-called industrialism, is our own view. Indeed this industrialism surrenders the whole world, including South East Asia. Industrialism as a new production system makes rapid progress through the enormous development of modern sciences such as physics, chemistry and mathematics.

Industrialism brings a new type of civilisation with its technical forms and habits of life. To this type of civilisation belong the methods of present-day world communication, cars and modern trains, airlines to all parts of the world. The world now becomes very small; radio, big daily papers, films and television as the latest addition for the time being. This pattern of civilisation produces a kind of individualistic mentality; utilistic and rationalistic in thinking and increasingly democratic but a non-religious notion.

Industrialism creates new ideas, new ideals and also new expectations. The conceptions about marriage, family life and sexuality are changing and are changing profoundly. With this rationalistic and mechanistic way of thinking, morals and morality also change. We see the growth of a strong inhumanity, which belittles concern for fellow man. We become more insensible to information about many victims in airway and railway accidents. We accept those things as if they ought to be; the traffic becomes much more intensive. We think in terms of mass cases and mass amounts. Man gets in the background. More attention is paid to the horizontal level - "the diesseits", not to the vertical level or to what is coming. Ideals are now only founded on the secular things and people are satisfied with the progress gained in the field of technics. Poverty and hunger can be combatted, infant mortality decreases, life-expectation increases (approximately 70-72 years). Why should one not believe in technics as: "le grand espoir du XXe siecle"? The technicians believe themselves to be the establishers of world politics. Our modern mass society is now based on the levelling of need and life habits of manners and emotions.

We have to reckon with these facts in our attitude as Christians on behalf of State and Government. There is rising a new type of civilisation. We must have a response to this challenge.

Industrialism supposes, or better forces, specialisation. Experts are in demand for all fields. This has its good points, but also bad points.

The bad point is that the survey of the whole is often forgotton and lost sight of. But we have to keep up with the times. We have too, also in the way of preaching the gospel. We must also have our specialists, as in all fields, in parliament, in local countries, in the Government. We too must have our specialist clergymen for the professor's world, the student's world, the labour world, the youth, the business world, in short in every field.

A thief has to be captured by a thief, a professor by a professor, a student by a student, a labourer by a labourer, a farmer by a farmer, a businessman by a businessman.

There needs to be more studying of life and society. The State is made by men, by Christian men too. The Government consists of men, of Christian men too. Through this knowledge the Christians can be more effectively a part of the whole and also responsible for the whole. Every problem of State and Government is also the problem of the Christian for he is tied up with the whole. He must rack his brain and work hard and help solve the problems, especially the problem of how to bring the gospel to modern man.

IV.

AN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMY

(Book Review by Denys Munby)

Gunnar Myrdal is a distinguished Swedish economist, known for his writings on monetary theory, the methodology of economics, and American race problems, as well as for his leadership of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. His latest book is a tract for the times on the international economic relations of the non-Soviet world, and in particular the relations between the underdeveloped and advanced industrial countries. While it contains a great deal of analysis, it is also unashamedly a plea for action and a warning against the consequences of inaction.

Myrdal once believed that economics was a positive science, which could be objective and eschew moral valuations; he now holds the opposite extreme view that the social sciences always involve valuations, and that "scientific analysis itself depends necessarily on value premises". (p. 336). Value premises need to be explicitly stated, and the premise of this book is the need for 'integration' on a world-wide scale, which is "the realization of the old Western idea of equality of opportunity" (p. 11), or "the old ideals in Western civilization of liberty and equality and, more specifically, equality of economic opportunity (p. 337).

The world is suffering from international disintegration, and there is no reason to suppose that the trend is towards anything but a worsening of the situation. There are two basic reasons:- in the advanced countries greater integration within nations leads to economic nationalism and a further break-up of international cooperation, while, at the same time, the gulf between the rich "upper class" countries (p. 316) and the poor "proletarian" countries (p. 318) is growing. Roughly a third of the book is devoted to the problems of economic relations between the rich countries, and two-thirds to the problems of the underdeveloped countries in the world of today.

In chapters 3 and 4 Myrdal outlines the process of national integration and its results in international disintegration. National integration arises out of a series of comples social and economic changes within the western world whereby successive barriers have been broken down and equality of opportunity has finally reached its apogee in the welfare state. The welfare state is merely the logical continuation of the trend towards widening of opportunities in the social and economic field, which the industrial revolution initiated. But it is precisely these achievements in integrating western nations which tend to turn people's interests inwards, towards the situations and problems at home, and to spread a defensive ideology of national group protectionism. In these relatively rich countries and in the mental climate of the protective welfare state, international issues other than those related to national defense become embarrassing (p. 35).

The growth of the Labour movement has led to the loss of the international solidarity of workers, as well as "some of the earlier international social integration on the upper-class level" (p. 37). Traditional internationalism has failed to take account of the values of national solidarity, whereas what Myrdal wants is "an internationalization of these national policy structures themselves, preserving the essential values they represent to the several nations." (p.50). The fundamental weakness of the international order is "social and psychological" (p. 5); it is "without any appreciable basis in people's allegiance (p. 54).

In chapter 5, west-European integration is discussed, and the failure of the various approaches attributed to "the superficiality of concentrating the efforts mainly on trade and payments and evading the more fundamental problems of the factors of production" (p. 59), the evasion of the issue of economic equality (pp. 63-5) and the lack of popular support (pp. 65-7). "We should also drop the illusion that international integration can serve as a substitute for reforms at home." (p. 71). Chapters 6 to 8 turn to the particular economic problems of international payments, mobility of labour and mobility of capital. In these chapters, Myrdal shows us that he is essentially a liberal economist at work in a world where the old liberalism is irrelevant. He looks forward to 'convertibility', but does not regard it as a panacea if problems of trade balance, business stability and movements of factors are ignored. On labour mobility he speaks with some yearning for the lost world of the years before 1914.

"This enclosure of the individual within national boundaries is however, frankly one of the most reactionary trends of our time and intrinsically damaging to strivings for international integration." (p. 95). "This national bondage for the common man is a deeply dismaying trait of the world now coming into being. It operates against the development of the feeling of belonging to a world and not merely to a small part of it." (p. 97).

Myrdal also regrets the break-up of the old international capital market, though he is not at all unaware that in the backward colonial countries it was only a matter of 'enclave-building' (pp. 99-103). "I cannot help feeling that the end of private international finance as we once knew it is somewhat of a loss for our civilization" (p. 111). He has misgivings about "governments in the lending business" (pp. 112-4), but still thinks that much more could be done to develop these activities in various ways.

And so we turn, via the issues of international aid (chapter 9) and the cold war (chapter 10), to the major problems of the underdeveloped countries. In spite of the amazing generosity of America, Myrdal has no difficulty in showing that American aid has in fact largely meant 'sharing between the rich' (pp. 121f.), whereas the real problem is to provide for an international taxation system to tax the rich in order to develop the poor countries. Precisely because of the enormous size of America in relation to the whole of the rest of the world, this must be a matter of real international action, and not a series of 'hand-outs' from the wealthy. We are still in a world, where, as between nations, 'charity' is regarded as the proper basis of action in fields where, within nations, charitable endeavours have long been socialized.

The urgency of this problem does not lie in the cold war, which makes it more difficult to solve, but in the new demands of the underdeveloped countries. "The probability" is "that we are not given long to wait, and also that only a rather substantial and stable rate of economic progress in the underdeveloped countries will enable political disaster to be averted". (p. 135). Chapter 11 outlines the main facts of the new demands for independence and development, the end of colonialism, the export of western ideas of democracy, nationalism and progress, and the terrible fact of "the correlation between poverty and colour". (p. 155). The world is in ferment, and "our various policies towards these countries, considered in conjunction and as a whole, are framed as if we wanted to intensify the dilemma in which they are finding themselves. And undoubtedly we do it out of idealism, though without letting it impose on us too great sacrifices." (p. 165).

Two Long chapters deal respectively with the processes, by which underdeveloped countries can 'integrate' themselves according to the sort of process that has come about in the west, and the economic relations with the rest of the world which they will be bound to follow. The process of economic integration cannot be so easy for these countries as for the west, because they do not have the background history of the west. Economic development must mean "initial reforms of the social structures on a vast scale" (p. 171). There is "no choice open between wanting a slower or faster rate of economic development", and it is often the case that big social changes may encounter no greater resistance than small ones (p. 174). It is indeed a case of implanting "desires for efficiency and material advance and inclinations towards rationalism, experimentalism, and enterprise" (p. 175), but it is not a case of expecting these countries slavishly to copy the west, though "so far as democracy is concerned, we are ethnocentric on behalf of the inherited values of Western civilization". (p. 176).

Myrdal outlines the changes in social structures that will be required, the break-up of class barriers, land reform, health and education improvements (the latter particularly), and population policy. He is under no illusion as to the vastness of the problems. More research is needed, more state action (in countries, where the administration is frequently incompetent and corrupt); there must be a balanced development programme, as between agriculture and industry, and consumption and investment, in countries where there are no margins to spare and where failure means ruin; foreign capital is needed, more knowledge and more technical aid. Myrdal is not worried that central planning is incompatible with freedom. (p. 211). He does not think the west can shuffle off its responsibilities by the plea that the underdeveloped countries often do not know how to use capital from abroad; "there is no doubt in my mind that if the advanced countries approached this problem with the same seriousness and zeal which they ordinarily devote to their own affairs, ... they would not fail to find productive outlets for a considerably increased stream of capital to the underdeveloped countries." (p. 214). He makes a fine appeal for "truly international universities" (pp. 215-7). But the difficulties are so great, the outlook in the west so unfavourable, that he is bound to conclude that "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion for most of the underdeveloped countries that, looking at the matter objectively, the most probable outcome is failure and consequent social disintegration and political upheavals." (p. 212).

Chapter 13 on the commercial policy of the underdeveloped countries deals with all the difficult economic problems of exports and imports, the terms of trade, international price stabilisation, and control of foreign trade. He argues cogently that the underdeveloped countries, precisely because their economies are unbalanced and underdeveloped, are bound to suffer if they have to follow 'normal' rules of international economic conduct, appropriate to the rich countries. They have to make special efforts to turn their exports towards the expanding markets of the world, to limit their imports to allow scarce machines to be imported so as to speed up their development, to cooperate among themselves rather than with their "metropolitan" partners, and generally to follow many of the policies of autarky, quantitative controls et hoc genus omne, which Myrdal, with most economists, regards as undesirable for developed countries. The reason for this is to be clearly found, first in the simple fact that international 'free trade' does not tend automatically to level up the standards of living in different countries, but rather the reverse, and secondly, that this is the only way by which they can carry out a serious and continuous development programme. Trade has to be restricted in some areas, not for its own sake, but precisely because of the pressure for its expansion that development engenders. There is all the world of difference

between the restriction on imports of unnecessary consumption goods into a poor but rapidly developing country, and the same sort of restrictions in a country such as the United States. Myrdal provides not only a handbook of action for the underdeveloped countries themselves in this field, but also a plea to the richer countries to do something about international price stabilisation, and to recognise "the rationality of a double standard of morality in international trade". (pp. 288f.).

In his last chapter, "The World Adrift", Myrdal points the moral and sums up what is required. There is no way back towards stagnation.

And yet, "it is impossible to end with any other conclusion, than that, short of a number of near-miracles, few underdeveloped countries will succeed in attaining their essential goals ... In the present stage of history nations in the non-Soviet world are not prepared in peace time to accept the degree of international human solidarity which would make possible progress towards international economic integration." (pp. 314-5).

But Myrdal does not despair. There are signs of hope in the increasing co-operation between underdeveloped countries, and he considers the possibility that this may play the role that the labour movement did within western nations in bringing about international integration (pp. 315-321). Within the western countries, a new internationalism could arouse the lethargy of reformers, who suffer from the achievement at home of all their strivings (p. 322). For Americans, his most urgent plea is for a real internationalism; "it is aid given by a single government I feel apprehensive about; ... power must demoralize aid. The world cannot be run as a company town." (pp. 329-30). But in the end we come back to the small concrete things we can do; "there is no sudden or other way of turning the tide than the laborious one of seeking solutions to concrete and practical issues", (p. 335), and, in his final "Today's Practical Agenda", he gives us quite enough to keep the west busy for many years.

I add some comments. The book is over-lengthy and repetitive, and is a typical example of the laziness of authors and publishers who put footnotes at the back of a book and prefer repetition to cross-references. It is also somewhat dated, having been originally produced for a conference in America in 1954; most of the published literature to which reference is made is not later than 1954, and the same goes for a good deal of the narrative of events. More seriously, the atmosphere of the book is that of America in 1954, before the condemnation of Senator McCarthy by his colleagues; there are traces of a rather hysterical pessimism which are not entirely relevant today. The book is also often directed towards an American audience, which somewhat limits its value to others.

These are minor blemishes; the major criticism arises from Myrdal's valuations. There is, first, the question of combining analysis with valuation. Myrdal seems unnecessarily pessimistic about the possibility of 'objective' analysis at the economic level. His own valuations are certainly made explicit, and we can be grateful for that. But the non-technical reader may be sometimes misled where Myrdal is putting forward an original viewpoint of his own, which would not meet with acceptance from all his colleagues. His views are always worthy of attention, but the non-technical reader would have been helped by a less value-loaded analysis in many places; to take one small example, the conclusion that underdeveloped countries will suffer from inflationary pressures, both when their exports increase, and when they decline (p. 241), involves a very special case, which seems justified rather by Myrdal's

pessimism than by strict analysis; Myrdal may be right, but there are other possibilities. The advantage of the belief that an 'objective' social science is possible is that it may make the analyst rather more cautious than if he throws up the sponge to begin with. But to say this is not to deny that Myrdal touches all the major economic problems in his field with expertise and wisdom; the main balance is usually right, if the non-expert must be warned against some of the details. But the book would have been a much better book, if the analysis had been more carefully separated from the plea for action. In dealing with the economic problems of development of the underdeveloped countries, Myrdal covers much the same ground as Arthur Lewis in his Theory of Economic Growth, though he concentrates more heavily on the international questions, which are much more cursorily treated by Lewis. By contrast Lewis comes out as a much more sure guide to the non-expert; he shares much of Myrdal's idealisms, but they do not obtrude in the same way, and his work conveys more conviction as a result.

Secondly, we cannot ignore Myrdal's valuations. To a large extent they will be shared by all who are concerned with the welfare of the vast mass of mankind in the poor countries. But this book is uncomfortable; partly, because it tries to shake the complacency of the rich west, and the discomfort caused is deserved. But it also produces discomfort because of Myrdal's own valuations; we are a little embarrassed when someone so sensitive and intelligent shows a naivety which seems to oscillate between an optimism and pessimism which are both equally unjustified. Myrdal is frankly a child of the Enlightenment."that finally did away with the old superstition of the villain by proclaiming that man was good and that our misery was not due to human nature but to man's environment in the widest sense: to social institutions and to opportunist ignorance when living in them. In a very fundamental sense this thesis is basic to the practical ideals of liberty and equality; on the intellectual level it is parallel to the moral axiom of the dignity of the individual human being ... This view ... is on one level a deeply pessimistic one, since it assumes that good people, as they are conditioned by their environment, can make life a hell for each other and themselves and all the time honestly plead to their conscience that their intentions were good ... As man is good and has the power of reason, he can ... change his attitudes so that they become more rationally related to the existing facts and to his deepest valuations, his ideals." (p. 301).

Myrdal's rather naive idealism comes most near to folly in his repeated statements that the failure of internationalism is due to the fact that human solidarity does not exist on the world scale, (e.g. pp. 5, 54, 67, 250, 325), with their implication that, when this does come about, we may look forward to "a democratic world government under which all human relations come under the rule and protection of equitable law, decided upon by due democratic process." (p. 320). But in general we can share Myrdal's actual valuations of concrete situations in spite of a distaste for his rationalistic idealisms.

Theologians who might be irritated by some of these statements should not be allowed to escape the force of his plea. If we fail to recognise "that the world is drifting towards a destiny that it has not charted in advance and for which it has not been deliberately steering its course" (p. 300), and that "no government and no political party in any country is really facing up to these problems" (p. 299), if we fail to accept the fact that "the concept of the welfare state ... would have to be widened and changed into a concept of a 'welfare world'" if we are to avoid disaster (p. 324), we have not the excuse that we have not been warned.

V.

EVANGELISM AND THE SOCIAL ACTION OF THE CHURCH

by Professor Heinz Dietrich Wendland

The question of the relation between the Church's social action and its evangelism is not merely a question of theological theory which could be rejected as artificial and abstract. It is a burning problem for us who are engaged in social work for the Church and in evangelism. It seems to me equally important for the young Churches and the foreign missions in the new states and societies springing up in Africa and Asia. The problem has therefore already been considered a good deal in the Department on Church and Society of the Study Division of the World Council of Churches, and further attention must certainly be given to it.

For the position of the Church in secular, post-Christian society (and the structures and ideologies of this society have already penetrated to Africa and Asia long ago) necessitates new forms of contact between Church and society. A new relation must be found between the Kerygma and the social order. We must abandon the old ways of thinking and working, which uncritically assume the existence of a certain social or political situation, or certain social structures which existed in pre-technical or pre-industrial society. These include a whole series of traditional distinctions, such as a distinction between evangelism and social service (diakonia). (For the sake of brevity we must make some assumptions, the basis for which may be found in my book "Die Kirche in der modernen Gesellschaft", Hamburg 1956). But abolishing false distinctions does not, of course, mean abolishing theological distinctions which are true and justified. These distinctions form part of the task which faces theology as a whole today afresh - dogmatics, practical theology and social ethics - namely the task of perceiving the unity of the Church's original functions in spite of their differences, and then drawing the necessary practical conclusions. The theological situation and the actual position of the Church in society today all point to one and the same problem.

First of all we have to draw a distinction which is already perceptible in the New Testament: the distinction between evangelism to non-believers (pagans) and preaching within the Church. This first form of spreading the Christian message and exhortation is shown in the Epistles written to the Churches by the Apostles, which take the Christian life of the congregation for granted while at the same time they recall the congregation to the true Christian life through recollection of Christ. But here we have to deal with the first, fundamental form of preaching, i.e. preaching within the Church, the preaching of judgment and conversion which overthrows false gods and puts an end to the rule of the daemons. Like the evangelism of the Apostles, it draws a sharp distinction between the aeon of sin (today) and the aeon of salvation (hereafter). It announces the universal Lordship of Christ and the coming of God's Kingdom all over the world. This preaching is not directed towards an existing congregation which has already been baptised, but to a congregation which is still to be founded as the result of evangelism and to find its fulfilment in it. The purpose and the effect of evangelism is not the conversion of individuals but the formation of a Church. God's Word produces God's people as a historical, social reality. But then the whole relation of Christians to their social environment is changed, and the first questions begin to arise which the Church later tries to answer in its whole social doctrine and social ethic. What should be the Church's attitude to the pagan, non-Christian state authorities? Should Christians be judged in pagan law-courts? What about marriage? These questions are familiar to us

from the Epistles of the Apostles. Such questions are bound to arise in new Churches, because they feel quite rightly (however dimly) that the Christian message which they have accepted in faith is not a new religion which can simp replace the old one, but creates an entirely different relation to the world. People who live as members of the Church of Christ regard the whole structure of society in an entirely new light. Hence our first, limited pronouncement would be the following:-

The Christian message which creates the congregation is the first social task of Christians, who are sent into the world to preach this message. The creation of the Church is the decisive factor whereby society is transformed through the Christian message. Anything else which we may describe as the social work of the Church (charity work and social service within and for society) can only be the result of this evangelism.

But we cannot and must not shirk the new questions which arise from this basic fact. For the Church is not an isolated factor, it is not a ghetto of piety, nor an ark floating on the troubled waters of the world in complete iso lation. The Church is open to the world because it carries God's Word into th world. The Church must itself be a missionary movement directed towards the future people of God; in obedience to our Lord's command to his disciples, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations" (Matthew 28: 19), it must realize it own incompleteness. On the other hand the Church realizes exactly where the eschatological frontiers lie; it keeps apart from all idolatry, it keeps itse free from the daemonic powers of corruption, as Christ has enabled it to do. In this sphere it is not part of the world; it must remain separate. But at the same time it is sent into the world and exists for the world, just as its Lord gave himself for the world. The Church's openness towards the world is the essential consequence of the fact that God gave His son for the world, tha God loved and loves the world and does not wish it to suffer corruption.

Christ's commandment to evangelise, however, contains another part, which must not be overlooked in connection with our problem, and which is usually no sufficiently emphasised: " ... and teach them to observe all things whatsoeve I have commanded you" (Matt. 28: 20). The message of God's almighty power the fore includes the proclamation of the new commandment, the Messianic law that the Messiah has himself established the rule of God. Wherever disciples are made and a Church is formed, they come under this commandment - the commandmen to love their neighbour and to serve him. It is impossible to preach the Gosp in isolation from this commandment. For the Lordship of Christ also encompass the work of the Church. The universality of God's coming Kingdom is expressed in the universality of love and service. The Church which brings Christ's message to the world is the Church of world-service, confronted by its neighbour in a thousand forms - in international life, in social relationships, especially about the poor and suffering, the under-privileged and enslaved - and it is called to serve him and help him in his need.

The special methods and forms of fellowship used by the Church in its "social work" are all responses to Christ's command to love; these forms are, of course, historically-conditioned. They arise out of loving contacts with real people, and have to adapt themselves to different needs. The "neighbour" is always a person living in society in a certain background with certain institutions. These structures imply certain important decisions concerning people's way of life.

This is especially the case when the social orders, as in the world of antiquity, are indissolubly bound up with the religion; or as in the post-Christian world when the social orders are directed by the ideologies of

nationalism, liberalism, or communism, or when they are transformed into forms of post-Christian religion which can be assimilated with elements of traditional paganism. The "neighbour", with whom love has to deal, is therefore never an abstract, isolated individual (as is also clearly shown in the simplest kind of spiritual care); ever since the example of the Good Samaritan such love of one's neighbour has been expressed by practical thought and action. For this very reason it must make use of the most varied secular resources, money and other wordly goods, and the different orders of this world, in order to achieve its purpose. Otherwise it cannot possibly help its "neighbour", as it desires.

Love acts for the sake of others; it has no other purpose; it cannot be subordinated to any other purpose. This needs to be stated very clearly in modern society, because the social work of the Church is often regarded with suspicion; people wonder whether the help it offers is only a means to an end, in order "to fill the empty Church-pews". But within the Church itself love is also misinterpreted, if it is subordinated to evangelism, so that it becomes only a secondary aid towards achieving the real goal which is the conversion of unbelievers, the saving of souls. But in the New Testament we are commanded to love our neighbour as the whole fulfilment of the law; nothing whatever is said about loving people merely in order to convert them. That would be a distortion of love. Love loves for love's sake, i.e. in order to help; it therefore loves people who are not converted, who remain unbelievers, whether pagans or secular post-Christians; on the other hand it will not conceal the fact that it springs from Christ himself. Love will never allow itself to be used as a means to an end; that is impossible, owing to its divine nature. Social service can therefore never be used as a means of evangelism. For social service springs from the same divine source of love as the Christian message itself, which bears witness of God's love towards the world.

The real, ultimate unity between evangelism and service must therefore be sought solely in the person, the mission and the way of life of Christ himself. It is a christological unity. In this unity Word and action are one and the same; they are both expressions of the same love. Just as Christ changes the course of people's lives and calls them to follow him, so he also heals the sick and helps the sorrowful without imposing any conditions. The Church needs to be reminded of this christological unity when its own basic functions become separated and lose touch with each other. But this is always due to their having lost touch with their source. The Word of God becomes empty if it does not bear fruit in action; preaching becomes sterile if it forgets that it must address its message and preach God's commandments to new people all the time. And the Church's social service degenerates if it becomes subordinate to secular methods and orders, forgetting that it derives its authority from Christ and not from the humanity of the human heart; but that at the same time Christ brings God's Kingdom to the world, so as to lead men beyond all the orders of the world to eternal life. That is why the Church must always remember, in its own social service, that it is not concerned merely with restoring and improving social orders, preserving the humanity of man and helping the suffering; it must also bear witness of the Lordship of Christ throughout the world, his lordship over post-Christian people who no longer acknowledge him as their Lord, and over pagans who do not yet know him. The Lordship of Christ is expressed through service, sacrifice, the devotion of strength and life, and thus expresses in its own way that man belongs to Christ, whoever he may be, and Christ to man. Anyone who wants to restrict the Church solely to evangelism must be reminded of Matthew 25: 31 ff. - the description of the last judgment when the Son of Man shall return to judge all nations. The "righteous", whom he invites to inherit his Father's Kingdom are those who have loved him and served him through service to the poor and suffering, "the least of his brethren".

In modern society there is another special reason for maintaining the closest possible contact between evangelism and the Church's social service. For in Europe, and in the countries of the younger Churches, the Word has to be preached in a situation in which the social orders are breaking up and the humanity of man is in danger. In Asia and Africa the great social, political and technical revolution is in full swing; it brings emancipation and freedom, but at the same time makes people isolated and homeless. And since no one can live in a void without believing in anything, they attach themselves to ideologies, to secular, social and political messages of salvation and programmes for the perfection of the world. The interest of the emancipated intelligentsia in communism is the clearest proof of this theory; it is also proved by the effects of nationalism (political religion) which may justify itself by appealing to an old cultural heritage.

In this situation evangelism has a new responsibility for man as a social creature, in his social setting. People must be protected against becoming dehumanised in two ways: firstly, through an empty freedom which cuts them off from all commitments towards their fellow men; secondly, through attachment to false ideologies and groups which use people to justify their own existence. Evangelism awakens the faith that brings salvation, brings people into fellowship with Christ, and opens the way to eternal life in God's Kingdom; but we must also bear in mind that evangelism preaches both <u>the law and the gospel</u>, not one without the other, nor in such a way that the law could become the gospel or the gospel could become the law. It is precisely the unity of law and gospel which throws light on the position of man in society today and shows the Church what it has to do.

God's commandment is to be announced to all men and all nations. That is why it is related to the social orders and social institutions. It shows us that we are neither wage-slaves in a collectivity nor independent individuals with no responsibility towards our fellows. <u>Preaching the law means preaching humanity and responsibility towards our fellow men</u>; against all the power of sin and evil, God will maintain man as the creature whom He has called to share in His Kingdom. It means preaching the second Table of the Decalogue - the commandments which preserve life in human society from the gravest destruction. These commandments, which deal with our duty to our neighbour, provide the basic norms which God has fixed for human society in order to hold it together, while at the same time setting limits to illusions of absolute power, absolute freedom or absolute perfection in this world - illusions which beset and mislead man in modern society. God has established, for man's good, the orders of political authority, marriage, and physical and mental work for the maintenance of life and in order to organise the fruits of the earth. All these three commandments have the same purpose; to foster the relations between people, to establish a just, humane order of <u>secular</u> society. These commandments apply to all nations and all periods of history, whatever the difference may be between their development and their form and however different the ethical traditions may be which impose them; these commandments combat error, false beliefs and idolatry and are effective against man's disobedience to God's power. Christian evangelism cannot hold its own against the social and political ideologies of our time and the real menace to man in post-Christian society unless it preaches the commandments which show what God's plan is for the basic social institutions. It would be an error to regard evangelism merely as moral preaching. For in the first place this preaching must tackle the very roots of our social situation, in order to show people that our social life has no foundations unless it accepts the norms established by God. Secondly, preaching God's commandment through the Church shows that the Church must give <u>practical</u> help to people, show them how to live in society and how to live in accordance with the orders to which God

has given this quality of order and cohesion. The Church's service to society should be this practical help. It is not only a service to the individual; at the same time it strives (for the sake of the individual) to change society, to modify the existing social institutions in state, industry and society, so that man does not become de-humanised, enslaved and functionalised by them. These institutions must therefore be continually supervised and renewed by applying the commandments of justice, humanity and freedom (the basic conditions for human life).

This message, and its practical application to the social orders, cannot be carried out without Christ. For it is the message of Christ's Church; and it is only in the Church, through the power of God's own Word, that we can perceive the world and God's plan for human society in the way described here (very briefly and inadequately). Christ is the end of the law, also in connection with our relation to the social orders; so that all merely religious explanations about the institutions of society become impossible, wordly, unjustified in the eyes of God, incapable of saving man. On the other hand Christ is the fulfilment of the law; the love to which he calls us is the fulfilment of all God's commandments. The life based on love must be lived within the ties and institutions of this world, nowhere else. That is where Christ's love leads us to our neighbour; that is where all God's commandments are fulfilled in the one great commandment. And lastly, because Christ is the coming Lord, the world's Judge, it is through him that we perceive the eschatological boundary of God's plan for human society, in which we live for the time being; we realize that this divine plan already includes the lex charitatis latens (to quote Luther), the hidden law of love to all men, because God has called all men to His Kingdom, and His Kingdom will come to all nations. This hidden law of love was incarnate in Jesus Christ, and it now binds his followers to act in accordance with it in human society for the sake of man.

To put it briefly, this would mean: no preaching without social service, no service without preaching. Preaching in which law and gospel are united in the person of Christ, preaching which gives men guidance and direction about their life in society, and protects them as human beings from the menace of nihilism and collectivism; not because human nature as such is so admirable that it must be preserved at all costs, but because man is God's creature, because he belongs to the Lordship of God, and because Christ died and rose again for him - even for people who do not know him.

But in the second place it would also mean approaching people in the indigent state to which modern society has brought them, if we want to bring them the message of salvation. We cannot preach the message and then leave them in their isolation. People belong not only to the Church (born of the Word) but also to their country, to their people, to the concrete orders of work and to the whole social complex. What are they to do in those settings? What form should the obligations upon them take? In a period of social revolution, in the crises of post-Christian society which spring from its radical secularism and its total emancipation, the Church must answer these two questions - otherwise its whole preaching will end by being unmerciful, and its spiritual care will merely consist in empty recommendations to piety which leave the world to its own fate. The Christian message always has to deal with historical situations and with people in a historical situation! The Church must therefore examine the situation in society and direct its message and its action to that situation. It must also address firm critical and positive demands to all members of society, especially those with influence and responsibility, whatever may be their relation to Christ's Church. Unless it acts in this way, its message is not a message of God's love nor a witness to the complete Lordship

of Christ over the whole world. The message of the Gospel is concerned with the eternal life of man, i.e. with his whole life, not merely with a "soul" abstracted from it. But in that case the powers which deprive man of his humanity, give him a false position in the world and turn him at the same time into a usurper and a slave, cannot be indifferent to the Church's preaching.

The Christian Church is founded on its message, and this results in two further forms of social action.

Firstly, the members of the Church must be instructed in their responsibility towards post-Christian or "mixed" pagan-post-Christian society, their responsibility for the rebuilding of states and for the creation of democratic organs, for the organization of work and industry, and (most important of all) for educating people - otherwise it will be impossible to solve the gigantic problems involved in the areas of rapid social change.

Secondly, the Church must cooperate with other groups and movements in society, it must discuss with them what the real bases of human nature and of society are, and the causes of the crises in modern society. For this reason also the Church needs to work out a theological doctrine of society which takes full account of the structures of society today, in order to discover what the Christian Church can do, in cooperation with non-Christians, to ensure that as many people as possible have a basis for life, work and living-accommodation and thus preserve them from perdition, in the human sense. But such discussions and practical work of this kind will always come back to the bases of the Christian view of life, society and man. The Church's service to and in society therefore leads it back to the main themes of evangelism: the message of judgment and mercy, and the message of Christ. The movement which springs from Christ leads through loving service in this world back again to Christ, towards whose future Kingdom the Church and the world are both moving. In the consummation of his Kingdom the Church will no longer be called to preach the faith and to give loving service to men on earth, as it is today. Then disbelief and disobedience, injustice and lack of peace will be ended, because God will be all in all.